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ARTICLE VII.

WHERE WAS ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE?

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WITH regard to the native place of the founders of three of the great Oriental religions—Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism—the authorities are mostly in agreement; with reference to Zoroastrianism, however, the case is far different. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans we are told that seven cities claimed to be the birth-place of the poet Homer; if we take into account the various opinions on the question of the native country of the prophet Zoroaster, the same may also be said of him. The question in regard to Zoroaster's home is one of interest, for with it is connected the question where we are to place the cradle of the Mazdean religion. The subject has given rise to the liveliest dispute.

Arguments have been brought forward by some to show that we must place the home of Zoroaster in the east of Iran, in Bactria; he is accordingly often styled "the Bactrian sage." By others it is claimed that he came from the west of Iran, or rather from Media, some say from Persia. In spite of these contradictory views, the difficulty may be overcome, it is believed, and the problem may be solved, if the subject be looked at in its right light. Both sides are in part wrong, both sides in part right. The fallacy, it may at the outset be stated, lies in assuming that the scene of the prophet's real activity and of his mission must likewise have been his native place. It is with this word of caution in mind that all the statements and theories on the subject will here be examined, and the endeavor will be made to clear away the difficulty.

The authorities of antiquity to whom we may look for information on the subject and whose statements form the source from which our views are deduced, are—

- a. Classical
- b. Oriental.

The principal passages have already been collected by Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 270 ff.; but some points in the later tradition have been overlooked. As important deductions may be drawn from these latter, it is useful to add them, and to arrange anew all the material that bears as evidence on the subject. The allusions to the country of Zoroaster we may therefore take up in detail, presenting, first, statements referring to Bactria, or the east of Iran; second, allusions to Zoroaster as belonging in the west, in Media or Persia.

A. CLASSICAL AND NON-IRANIAN.

1. Bactria—Eastern Iran.

The following allusions in the classic writers of Greece and Rome show that Zoroaster was thought of as a Bactrian, or at least as exercising his activity in the east of Iran.

The authority of the historian Ktesias (B. C. 400) is quoted by Diodorus Siculus (1st century A.D.), ii. 6, for the statement that Ninus, with a large army, invaded Bactria, and with the aid of Semiramis gained a victory over King Oxyartes. See *Fragm. of the Persika of Ktesias*, ed. Gilmore, p. 29. Instead of the name Ὀξυάρτης, the manuscript variants show also Ἐχάορτης, Χαόρτης, Ζαόρτης. Attempts have been made to identify the name, or rather its variants, with Zoroaster, inasmuch as later writers—Kephallion, Justin, Eusebius, Arnobius—drawing on Ktesias, make Zoroaster the opponent of Ninus. Their statements are next cited.

Fragments of Kephallion (A.D. 120), preserved in Eusebius, *Chron.* i. 43, ed. Aucher, describe the rebellion of Zoroaster the Magian, the king of the Bactrians, against Semiramis: *de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis debellatione a Semiramide*. See Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 676. In agreement with this is also cited Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* iv. 35, ed. Aucher, *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum*. Add to this, Eusebius, *Preparatio Evang.* x. 9, according to which statement also Zoroaster the Magian ruled over the Bactrians, *Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε*.

Similarly Theon (A.D. 130?), *Progymnasmata* 9 (*Peri Syngri-seos*, ed. Spengel, *Rhæt. Græc.*, p. 115), in connection with Semiramis, speaks of "Zoroaster the Bactrian," *Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου*. See also Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 290.

Justin (A.D. 120), moreover, in his *Hist. Philippic.* i. 1, distinctly makes Zoroaster the opponent of Ninus, and says that he was king of Bactria: *Postremum illi bello cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse*

et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse. See Gilmore, *Ktesias' Persika*, p. 29.

In like manner Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentes* i. 5, mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians, under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster, *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastrequē ductoribus.* See Gilmore, *Ktesias*, p. 36. A parallel statement, *Zoroastres . . . Bactrianus*, in *Adv. Gent.* i. 52, confirms the view that Arnobius regarded Zoroaster as a Bactrian.

Two later but independent classical authors rightly place Zoroaster under a King Hystaspes (i. e. Vishtaspa, Gushtasp), and one of these distinctly calls him a Bactrian. These are Ammianus Marcellinus (5th century A.D.), and Agathias (6th century A.D.). Ammianus, xxiii. 6. 32, p. 294, ed. Ernest, says : *cui scientiam seculis priscis multa ex Chaldeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres ; deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus Darii pater.* Agathias, ii. 24, writes : *Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὁρμάσδεως . . . οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωροάστος, ἦτοι Ζαράδης (διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἑπωνυμία), ὁπηνίκα μὲν ἤκμασε τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔνεστι σαφῶς διαγνῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὑστάσπεω, οὗτω δὴ τι ἀπλῶς φασὶ γεγενῆσθαι, ὥς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρείου πατὴρ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ὑστήσπης κ.τ.λ.* See Gilmore, *Ktesias*, p. 29. Both these writers therefore recognize Zoroaster, not as a king, but as the founder of a religion under a king Hystaspes. Ammianus does indeed identify Hystaspes (Vishtaspa, Gushtasp) with the father of Darius ; but Agathias properly observes that the Persians do not make it clear whether by the name Hystaspes we are to understand the father of Darius, or another Hystaspes.

This concludes the list of classical authors that refer to Zoroaster as a Bactrian, or to that region as the scene of his prophetic activity. Let it be observed that the majority of the statements speak of him as a king ; this doubtless is due to confusion with King Vishtaspa (Hystaspes), under whom he flourished. Doubts may be expressed as to whether all the allusions really refer to the founder of the Mazdean faith ; there can be little question, however, that the allusions are intended for him, whatever may be the time at which they may suppose him to have lived.

Having thus considered the views pointing to Bactria, we may turn to those suggesting the west of Iran, Media or Persia, as the home of the prophet.

2. Media or Persia—Western Iran.

The following allusions in the classics unanimously mention Zoroaster in connection with the west of Iran.

Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 200) sometimes speaks of Zoroaster as a Mede, but sometimes as a Persian. The latter allusion we find in his *Stromata*, i. 357, where he makes Pythagoras one

of his followers: *Ζωροάστρην δὲ τὸν Μάγον τὸν Πέρσην ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐξήλωσεν*. The accuracy of the statement in regard to Pythagoras is of course extremely questionable. See Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 263. On another occasion Clemens identifies Zoroaster with Er, the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian. This would place Zoroaster in Asia Minor. See Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 273 note, referring to *Stromata*, v. 711, ὁ δ' αὐτὸς (Πλάτων) ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς πολιτείας Ἡρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου μέμνηται, ὃς ἐστὶ Ζωροάστρης (sic)· αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Ζωροάστρης γράφει· Τάδε συνέγραψεν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Ἀρμενίου τὸ γένος Πάμφυλος κ.τ.λ.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23-79), in his *Hist. Nat.* xxx. 1, 2, makes Zoroaster's native land even further west, in Proconessus, the island in the Propontus. See Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 299.

Hermodorus, the disciple of Plato, quoted by Diogenes Laertes, Proem. 2 ad init., speaks of Zoroaster as a Persian: *Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην*.

Suidas in his Lexicon (s. v. *Ζωροάστρης*) terms Zoroaster a "Perso-Median" (Περσόμηδος σοφός). This point also is worth noticing.

The Armenian Moses of Chorene (A.D. 431), i. 16, makes Zoroaster a contemporary of Semiramis, and calls him "a Magian, the sovereign of the Medes." See Gilmore, *Ktesias' Persika*, p. 30 note, and Spiegel, *Iranische Alterthumskunde* i. 682.

Arguments have furthermore been brought forward to show that in the fragments that have been preserved of Berosus of Babylon (B.C. 250) mention is made of the name Zoroaster as a Median; but whether the founder of the religion is to be understood by this remains uncertain.

The classical references above, if viewed alone, appear on the surface extremely contradictory; and from them it would seem as if little could with certainty be deduced. Laying aside these authorities, however, recourse may now be had to the more direct Iranian tradition. To this may be added one or two quite explicit statements from other Oriental, though non-Iranian sources. If these be carefully examined, we shall be surprised to find that there really is an agreement in references on the one hand to the field of Zoroaster's preaching, and on the other to his probable home. This will give us a new light in which to criticise the classical statements.

B. IRANIAN—THE TRADITION.

1. Bactria—Scene of Prophetic Career.

A study of the Avesta shows that most of the scenes described in that book are to be located in eastern Iran; in the later Persian epic, the *Shāh-Nāmāh*, also, it is in the east that Zoroaster's mission is carried on. Tradition also has it that the prophet ended his life in Balkh. These points all become significant when

viewed in their right light. Before proceeding to draw conclusions, however, we must examine in detail what is said in the Avesta and other Zoroastrian works with regard to the first appearance of the prophet. This point is of importance.

2. Media, Atropatene—Scene of the Prophet's Appearance.

Turning to the Zoroastrian books themselves, we find statements which plainly lead us to infer that the prophet really first appeared in the west of Iran, either in Atropatene or in Media proper.

The Bundahish places the home of Zoroaster in Iran Vej (*Air-yana Vaejah*), by the river Darja, and adds the fact that his father's house stood on a mountain by that river. For instance :

Bd. xx. 32 : *Dāraja rūd pavan Airān Vēj, mūnaš mām-ī Pōrūšasp abīdar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bār yehevūd*

'The Daraja river is in Airan Vej, on a hill (*bār*) by which was the house of Porushasp, the father of Zaratusht.' See also West, *Pahlavi Texts* transl., *S.B.E.* v. 82. Again,

Bd. xxiv. 15 : *Dāraja rūd rūdbārān raḍ, mamanaš mām-ī abīdar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bālā ; Zaratūšt tamman zād*

'The Dāraja river is the chief of exalted rivers, for the dwelling of Zaratusht was upon its banks ; and Zoroaster was born there.'

There can be little doubt that these unequivocal statements of the Bundahish rest upon good old tradition. The statements carry out in detail the lines found in the Avesta itself. In Vd. xix. 4, 11, we also learn that the temptation of Zoroaster by Ahri-man on the one hand, and the prophet's communings with Ormazd on the other, took place on a mountain by the river Darja, where was the house of his father Pourushaspa.

Vd. xix. 4 : *darejya paiti zbarahi nmanahe Pourušas-pahe*

'by the Darja, upon a mountain, at the home (loc. gen.) of Pourushaspa.'

Vd. xix. 11 : *peresāt Zarathuštrō Ahurem Mazdām . . . [darejya paiti zbarahi Ahurāi vanhave vohumaidhe āōnhānō, Ašāi Vahištāi, Khshathraī Vairyaī, Spentayāi Armatēē]*

'Zoroaster questioned Ahura Mazda . . . upon the hill by the Darja, praying to Ahura Mazda, the good, who is endowed with good, to Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Armaiti.'

The reference to the 'hill,' Av. *zbarah* (Skt. *hvaras*, Phl. *bār* Bd. xx. 32), is quite in accord with the tradition that Zoroaster retired to a mountain for meditation : cf. Vd. xxii. 19 : *gairīm avi spēntō-frasnāō, varešem avi spēntō-frasnāō* 'toward the mountain

of the holy communion, toward the forest of the holy communion.' Similarly elsewhere (see below) reference is made to Zoroaster's communings upon a mountain. Such prophetic meditations are thoroughly Oriental.

This river Darja we may perhaps localize ; it may be identical with the river Darya, which flows from Mount Savellan (Sebilān) in Adarbījān (Atropatene) into the Aras or Araxes. So also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* transl., *S.B.E.* iv., Introd. p. xlix. For the Aras (Araxes) see de Harlez, *Avesta* traduit, p. viii, map, and Phillip and Son's (London) map of Persia. If this identification be correct, the ancient Darja was in Media Atropatene.

Another explicit, although late and non-Iranian, tradition connecting Zoroaster with the region of Atropatene is found in Kazwini. In this Arabic writer, Zoroaster is associated with Shīz, the capital of Atropatene. Consult Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* transl., *S.B.E.* iv., Introd. p. xlix, where Rawlinson's identification of Shīz with Takht-i Suleiman is noted. The passage from Kazwini (quoted from Rawlinson) reads : "In Shīz is the fire-temple of Azerekhsh, the most celebrated of the Pyræa of the Magi ; in the days of the fire-worship, the kings always came on foot, upon pilgrimage. The temple of Azerekhsh is ascribed to Zeratust, the founder of the Magian religion, who went, it is said, from Shīz to the mountain of Sebilān, and, after remaining there some time in retirement, returned with the *Zend-Avesta*, which, although written in the old Persian language, could not be understood without a commentary. After this he declared himself to be a prophet." Thus far Kazwini.

The account here given, we observe, tallies accurately with the statements and suggestions made immediately above. In the *Avesta*, as above quoted, it was on a hill by the river Darja that Zoroaster communed with God. The hill (*zbarah*) or mountain (*gairi*) thus referred to by the *Avesta* would answer to Kazwini's Mount Sebilān ; the proposed identification of the *Avestan* Darja with the modern river Darya would be confirmed, as this latter river flows from Mt. Sebilān into the Aras.

For the region of Atropatene speaks also the authority of Yāqūt (see Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 684), who, like Abulfedā, points to the town of Urumia as the native place of Zoroaster. See also foot-note below, p. 231.

At this point we must furthermore take up the tradition which directly connects the opening of Zoroaster's prophetic career with Airyana Vaejah or Iran Vej. This land is often regarded as mythical ; it may originally have been so, but there is good reason for believing that the fact of the later localization of this region in the west of Iran points to the common belief that Zoroaster originally came from that direction. The *Bundahish* xxix. 12 connects Iran Vej directly with Atropatene : *Airān Vēj pavan kōst-ī Atarō-pātakān*. The river Darja, near which stood the house of Zoroaster's father, is especially stated in Bd. xx. 32 to have been in Iran Vej. In the *Avesta*, moreover, Zoroaster is

familiarly called "the renowned in Airyana Vaejah": Ys. ix. 14, *srūtō airylene vaejahe*. The prophet is there also represented as offering sacrifice in Airyana Vaejah by the river Dāitya: Yt. v. 104; ix. 25; xvii. 45, *airylene vaejahi vanhuyāo dāityayāo*. In the later Persian Zartusht-Nāmah—see Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 491—it is the waters of the Dāitī that Zoroaster crosses in a miraculous manner after he has had the vision of the conflict with the demons and of the final conversion of Medyo-māh. After passing Dāitī, he receives the visions of God (with which compare Ys. xliii. 3–15), and thence he proceeds to King Vishtaspa. The Dāitya was perhaps a border stream; it is to be remembered that it was on the other side of it (cf. *pasne*, Yt. xvii. 49) that Vishtaspa sacrificed. The Bundahish likewise alludes to Zoroaster's first offering worship in Iran Vej, and receiving Medyo-māh as his first disciple:

Bd. xxxii. 3: *Zarātūšt, amataš dīn dāitīvand, fratūm dēn Aīrān Vej frāj yašt paršund; Mēdyōk-māh dīn mināš mekadhund*

'Zoroaster, when he brought the religion, first celebrated worship in Aīrān Vej, and Mēdyōk-māh received the religion from him.' Cf. Justi, *Bundahish*, p. 79, and West, *Pahlavi Texts* transl., *S.B.E.* v. 141. This Mēdyōk-māh is the Maidhyo-māh of the Avesta, Yt. xiii. 95; Ys. li. 19, the cousin of Zoroaster; and he seems to have been a man of influence. That he was the prophet's first disciple is distinctly recognized also by the Avesta, Yt. xiii. 95: *yō paoiryō Zarathuštrāi mātremca gūšta sāsnaōsca*.

All these traditional Oriental allusions are unanimous in placing Zoroaster in Adarbījān or Media Atropatene. There is yet another passage drawn from the Avesta that connects his name with Rāgha (Rāi) in the same region, or more particularly in Media, properly so called. This allusion is in the Pahlavi version of Vd. i. 16. The Avesta text reads:

dvasasem asan̄hāmea šōithranāmea vahištem frāth-veresem azem yō ahurō mazdāo, Raghām thrizañtūm [vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiš (dahākāi)].

'As the twelfth, I created Rāgha of the three races.' The Pahlavi commentary adds 'triple-raced Rāk, of Ataro-pātakān (Atropatene); some say it is Rāi; . . . some say Zarātūšt belonged there.'

This connection of the name of Zoroaster with Rāgha is also given elsewhere in the Avesta. In Ys. xix. 18, mention is made of the five lords, "the lord of the house, the village, the province, and the country, and the Zarathushtra as the fifth." By *Zarathuštrō pukhdhō*, a high-priest or Iranian pope is apparently intended. This order of lords holds good for all countries "except the Zarathushtrian Rāgha." "The Zarathushtrian Rāgha has four masters, the master of the house, the village, the province, and the Zarathushtra as the fourth";

*āōnhām dahyūnām yāo anyāo Rajōit Zarathushtrōit.
Cathru-ratus Rāgha Zarathushtriš. Kāya ainhāo rat-
avo? Nmānyasca, vīsyasca, zañtumasca, Zarathuštrō
tūiryō.*

This reference, in addition to the Pahlavi just above quoted, at least shows plainly that Rāgha (Raji) must have been the chief seat of the religious government, the papal see. In like manner, Yāqūt, cited by Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* transl., *S.B.E.*, iv. p. xlvi, describes a celebrated fortress in the province of Rai, which was the stronghold of the Zoroastrian high-priest. If Rāgha was indeed the "Zoroastrian Rāgha," and enjoyed such religious prominence, it must have been because of Zoroaster's connection with it in some way or other. What was this connection?

The direct Iranian tradition, we have seen, connects Zoroaster's birth and the opening of his career with the west of Iran; but how shall we account for his name being associated first with Atropatene and then with the Median Rai? The solution of the difficulty may be found. An interesting allusion cited from Shahrastani by Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.*, p. 298, seems to have been overlooked; it apparently contains the key to the problem. Hyde, in referring to the Magi, quotes a passage from Shahrastani, rendering it thus: *hi* (inquit Shahrastani) *fuērunt Asseclae roū Zerdusht Sapientis filii Purshasp, qui apparuit tempore* یشتاسف *Hystasp. Ex regione Aderbayagjan fuit Pater ejus, et ex urbe* دغدو *Doghdū. Rey orta est Mater, cujus nomen fuit* دعدو *Doghdū.* Here we have a new clew, and apparently the answer to the question why Zoroaster's name should be connected with both places. Zoroaster's mother, as the tradition has preserved, was from Rai; his father was a native of Atropatene (Adarbījān). In the latter region Zoroaster probably was born, and he seems to have spent there the first part of his life, probably by the river Darja. It was there his religious meditations began. That accounts for his name being associated with all this territory, Urumiah, Shīz, Mount Sebīlān. His connection with Rāgha may furthermore be plausibly explained.

There is great reason to believe that if, as seems most likely, Zoroaster was born in Atropatene, he was drawn toward the important city of Rāgha, somewhat perhaps as Christ went to Jerusalem. This would be natural if we remember Shahrastani's statement, just above, connecting his mother's family with Rāgha. Let us again consult the tradition, and bring its allusions, wherever possible, to honor. In the Zartusht-Nāmāh, while much is purely legendary, there is also much that is based on good foundation. The book itself claims to be founded on old Pahlavi works. In the narrative there given we are told that Zoroaster was thirty years of age when he began his ministry. He apparently leaves his native land, presumably Atropatene if the above views be correct, for "his heart was directed to Iran." See Wilson, *Parsi*

Religion, p. 490. He sets out, as described in the narrative, with a company of followers, crosses a sea, journeys during the month of Spendārmāt (February), and on the last day of the month he finds himself upon the confines of Iran. It is there that he has the vision that Medyo-māh will receive his religion, and he dreams of the army of demons from the east. It is with this point we may connect Zoroaster's first attempt at preaching in Ragha.

If the view here adopted be correct, the vision of the army of demons may have been a forecast of Zoroaster's ill success at first in Ragha and elsewhere—misfortune, however, that was destined ultimately to turn out successfully and in victory. There is good reason for believing that Zoroaster's teaching did not at first meet with success. The statement of Zād-spāram (see West, *Pahlavi Texts*, transl., *S.B.E.* v. 187) would carry out this view. It is there noted that during the first ten years Zoroaster obtained one disciple, Medyōk-māh. This might apply well to Ragha.

A polemical allusion to Ragha, as shrewdly suggested by Geldner, *K.Z.* xxviii. 202–203, is perhaps to be found in the Gāthās, Ys. liii. 9. Unfortunately the passage is not quite clear, and the reading of the text is somewhat uncertain. Manuscript authority, however, gives the following text (Ys. liii. 9):

*duzvarenāiš vaēšō rāstī tōi narepīš rajīš
aēšasū déjūt-aretū pešō-tanvō
kū ašavā ahurā, yō īš jyātēus hēmīthyāt vasē-itōišcā
kū mazdā tavā khšathrem yā erezejyōi dāhī drigaovē vahyō ?*

This may provisionally be rendered (cf. Geldner, loc. cit.): 'To the evil-believers hell (lit. poison, i. e. of hell) belongs. Those man-banishing(?) Raghians, . . . the unrighteous (*dējūt-aretū*), are accursed (*pešō-tanvō*)! Where is the righteous one, O Ahura, who will deprive them of their life and freedom? Where is that kingdom of thine, O Ahura, by which thou wilt give to the right-living man, though poor, the best reward?' The text and the passage, as stated, are obscure; but there certainly seems to be contained in it the reminiscence of an imprecation against the Raghians, the generation of vipers that shall not escape damnation. This Capernaum, though now exalted, shall be thrust down to hell. Cf. St. Luke x. 15, St. Matthew xi. 30 ff.

Zoroaster, cast out from Ragha in Media, may have turned to Bactria, where at last he was received by King Vishtaspa. According to the Zartusht-Nāmāh, Zoroaster seems to have journeyed for a month or so, after his first vision of the army of fiends, and then to have crossed the Dāitī, which, according to the suggestion above (p. 227), appears to have been a border river. There he receives the visions of God and the archangels, before proceeding to Balkh. The book of Zād-spāram (cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, transl., v. 187) allows two years to have elapsed from the time of Medyo-māh's conversion to the time that Zoroaster won Vishtaspa over to the faith. The latter event, it assumes,

took place twelve years after Zoroaster had entered upon his ministry. All this is consistent with the idea of wandering and meditation, when we take into account also the thousand or more miles that separated Balkh from Atropatene and Ragha.

Assuming the supposition to be true that Zoroaster originated in Atropatene and was then drawn toward Ragha, but thence rejected, how are we to reconcile with this curse against the Raghians (Ys. liii. 9) the fact that the same city became the acknowledged head of the Zoroastrian faith? A solution may be offered. It is not at all impossible that, after success was won in the east, in Bactria, a religious crusade was begun toward the west, especially against Ragha. Hystaspes himself may have joined in the movement; his name is sometimes mentioned in connection with Media;* and, according to the Shāh-Nāmāh, his son Isfendiyar promulgated the faith of Zoroaster in several countries. Ragha, we can imagine, may have been among these; and we may suppose that this Jerusalem—if we may with all reverence adopt the phrase of our own Scriptures—the city which had stoned the prophet, at last received and blessed him that came in the name of Ormazd. Ragha was at last glad to claim Zoroaster (Ys. xix. 18) as its head.

The assumption of the reminiscence of a severe struggle against unbelief, and of a change of heart in the people, would make clear why heresy *aghemea uparō-vīmanōhim* as the counter-creation of Ahriman, should be so markedly associated with Ragha, Vd. i. 16; and it would explain why the scholiast in the Pahlavi version of the passage should add the saving clause, *vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiš*, Ragha belongs no longer to heresy, but to the faith. It has become the "Zarathushtrian Ragha."

Résumé.—If the above views be correct, Zoroaster indeed arose in the west, most probably somewhere in Atropatene. He then presumably went to Ragha, but, finding this an unfruitful field, turned at last to Bactria, where the prophet was destined no longer to be without honor. He met with a powerful patron in the king; church and state became one. From Bactria, the now organized state-religion spread back towards Media; thence down to Persia.

It can hardly be said that thus to reconcile the conflicting statements is begging the question; authority can be given for

* In the Yātkār-i Zarīran, ed. W. Geiger, *Sitz. bayer. Akad.*, 1890, p. 50, there also lurks, perhaps, in the words *Hutōs-i Rajūr*, an allusion to Ragha; and from them it might possibly be suggested that Vishtaspa's interest in Media was partly through his marriage, as well as on political grounds. If there is such an allusion to Hutaosa's having come from Ragha, we might perhaps conjecture that the new prophet Zoroaster was originally attracted from Ragha to Balkh through the queen's alliance. Let us then recall Augustine in connection with Emma and Æthelbert. But the passage requires further study before mere fanciful conjectures are made, especially in the light of some apparently contradictory passages in the Avesta and the Zartusht-Nāmāh.

every point that has been made. All the difficulties disappear. The references to Bactria in the Avesta and in the classics are quite correct ; there was the scene of the great teacher's activity. The references to Media in the classics and in the tradition are equally correct ; Media in its broadest sense was the original home of the prophet ; thence came the priests, for there, as Marcellinus xxiii. 6 later tells us, were "the fertile fields of the Magi." The hint, moreover, that Zoroaster after the conversion of Vish-taspa visited his own native land again, but was at last murdered at Balkh in Bactria, is furthermore given according to tradition also by Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. 2, p. 52 ; ii. p. 807-808, Index. The latter fact about Zoroaster's death may not have been untrue.

The conclusion arrived at is that, though Zoroaster originally came from the west, he taught and elaborated his religion in Bactria ; its blossoms later bore fruit in the west. The upholders of each side of the much-mooted question are in part right, and yet in part wrong ; the horns of the dilemma are at last united, the question is at last solved. Honor to the tradition where honor is due.*

APPENDIX.

Av. *vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiš* Vd. i. 16.

In the Avestan account of the creation and counter-creation by Ormazd and Ahriman, the text at Vd. i. 16 reads :

*dvasdasem asanhām šōithranāmca vahištem frāthwere-
sem azem yō ahurō mazdāo raghām thrizañtūm [vaēd-
hanhō nōit uzōiš] ; āat ahe paityārem frākereñtat anrō
mainyuš pouru-mahrkō aghemca uparō-vīmanōhūm.*

'As the twelfth, the best of regions and of places, I Ahura Mazda, created triple-raced Ragha [of . . .]. Then as a counter-creation the baneful Angra Mainyu created also the evil of excessive skepticism.'

The words *vaēdhanhō nōit uzōiš* are apparently a gloss ; the Pahlavi version does not render them. They have excellent manuscript authority, however, and there must have been some good reason for adding them. As yet they seem not to have been satisfactorily explained. A suggestion may perhaps tentatively be put forward.

* Mr. A. Yohannan writes me that at a place about a mile from his home in Oroomiah there is a pile of ashes from the fire-worshipers, and that the place is generally admitted by the people to have been the abode of Zeradusht.

In codex K₂ the word *dahākāi* is added after *uzōiš*. This addition is of no value, however, as *dahākāi* is evidently due only to a mistake occasioned by the resemblance in sound between *uzōiš* and *azōiš*. The manuscript in fact itself has the word afterwards stricken out. See notes on the variants in Spiegel's edition of the texts, *ad loc.* We may therefore dismiss *dahākāi* without consideration. There remain *vaēdhanhō* and *uzōiš* still to be interpreted.

The genitive *vaēdhanhō* comes evidently from a stem *vaēdhah*. An identification with Skt. *vēdhās* adj. subst., from Skt. *√vidh* 'worship, serve, piously honor,' at once suggests itself. On the usage of the root, see the Petersburg Lexicon, s. v. The word Av. *vaēdhah* is probably best taken as a neuter substantive. Its meaning would be 'worship, service, piety.' To the same radical, Skt. *vidh*, belongs also the familiar form Av. *nivaēdhayemi* in the invocation of the Yasna sacrifice. Perhaps also here the form Av. *vaēthāhu*. The root requires further investigation, however.

For the unexplained *uzōiš* I would also suggest a connection with the secondary root in Skt. *ujh* 'forsake, abandon,' cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gram. Verb Supplement* s. v. The signification of *uzi* would be 'apostasy, heresy, backsliding.' For the religious sense compare also Skt. *brahmōjjhatā*.

The gloss *vaēdhanhō nōi uzōiš*, as an added attribute of *raghām thrizañtūm*, becomes full of meaning. Viewed in the light of the above (p. 230), we may well believe that Ragha, which had cast out Zoroaster, may have been a hot-bed of heresy, *uparō-vīmanōhīm*, the creation of Ahriman, in opposition to its being the chosen spot (*vahištem*) of God. In the ultimate triumph of the faith, it became the chief seat of the Zoroastrian religion. The scholiast, therefore, in adding *vaēdhanhō nōi uzōiš*, is anxious to assure us of the triumph; the city is not alone 'triple-raced Ragha,' but also Ragha 'of the faith, not of heresy.' The attribute, moreover, emphasizes the distinction from Ahriman's *uparō-vīmanōhīm*. It carries out more perfectly the dualistic system. The passage thus is interesting from the historical point of view as well as from that of text-criticism.